

THURMOND AND STATEMENTS

THURMOND. Madam President, a number of days now there has been discussion on the Senate floor with reference to a campaign designed to pre-military leaders from participating activities to inform the American public of their personnel on the nature of communism. The Department of Defense has recently altered its former policy with regard to this subject, and press reports have attributed the change in policy to the contents of a memorandum which originated on Capitol Hill. On July 21, 1961, an article in the Washington Post over the byline of David Graham reported, and I quote from the paragraph of the article:

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright has warned that right-wing propaganda activities by military officers create "important obstacles" to President Kennedy's programs.

The article further stated that the memorandum "was made available to United Press International yesterday." Under the circumstances, Madam President, I do not consider it to be out of order, certainly not impertinent, to request the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee a copy of a memorandum which, according to the press, had been made available to one of the national wire services, especially after my name was advised by the UPI that the memorandum was released on Capitol

requested the copy in an hour and informed that I was scheduled to leave after that period. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of my letter of July 21 to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee be printed in the Record. If there is no objection, the letters ordered to be printed in the Record, follows:

JULY 21, 1961.

JOE J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. AR BILL: I am attaching copies of two letters, one from this morning's Washington Post and another from this morning's New York Times, which shocked and dismayed me very much. In essence the article reports that a Senate Foreign Relations Committee memorandum has urged that military leaders be curbed in their efforts to incite servicemen and the American public as to the insidious nature of world communism and the grave dangers which it poses to our Nation, both from without and on the borders of our own country. The New York Times article states further that the Defense Department has issued a directive in compliance with your committee memorandum.

One member of my staff to the contrary this morning to obtain a copy of this memorandum, but he was informed that the memorandum is not to be made available to the public, although the UPI story in the Washington Post says that the study "was made available to United Press International today."

He then went to your office to talk with you. I personally request a copy of the memorandum. Since you were not in, I talked with your assistant, Mr. Lee Williams. He told me that you had no copies available not even for yourself. He said that

one copy had been sent to the President and another copy to the Secretary of Defense. I assume that in view of this action in sending a copy of the memorandum to the President and the Secretary of Defense that the memorandum has been approved by you and the full committee.

I am writing this letter to personally request that I be provided with a copy of this memorandum within the next hour as I would like to read its contents and possibly comment on it before leaving Washington after lunch.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

STROM THURMOND.

JULY 21, 1961.

HON. STROM THURMOND, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR STROM: In reply to your letter of this morning, the UPI story in the Washington Post was in error.

You will note that the New York Times states clearly that this was a private memorandum to the Secretary of Defense, based primarily upon heretofore published reports. The memorandum is in no way a committee memorandum, no member of the committee even knew about it, and the committee takes no responsibility for it. Since it is a private communication to the Secretary of Defense, I have not felt that it is necessary to make it available to anyone else.

I am very sorry that this misunderstanding has arisen, but I have found the press sometimes to be unreliable in the way it presents such matters. Where it obtained the memorandum is a mystery to me, as I did not make it available to anyone except the highest officials in the Government.

Very truly yours,

BILL,

J. W. FULBRIGHT.

Mr. THURMOND. Madam President, I was advised by the office of the Senator from Arkansas that they had had innumerable requests for copies of the memorandum, particularly from the press; and one member of the Foreign Relations Committee advised me that he had unsuccessfully tried to obtain a copy himself.

Madam President, I in no way intended that my request to see a copy of this memorandum be interpreted as an ultimatum, nor do I believe that any such inference can be logically drawn from my request. At the time the request was made, I was under the impression, as I stated in my letter, that the memorandum was a committee document, as the press had reported.

It was not, and is not, my intention to inject personalities into this matter. It so happens that I disagree completely with the Senator from Arkansas on a matter which, in my opinion, is vital to our Nation. It is a matter which bears on the survival of our country. It is a matter which must be discussed, debated, and, I sincerely hope, investigated, on its merits without regard to the individuals or personalities who may hold conflicting views on the subject.

Madam President, one thing above all should be understood with regard to the matter under discussion. The issue is not a question of subordination of the military to civilian control. There is not, nor has there been, any challenge to the firmly rooted fundamental that policy of the United States shall be made by elected civilian officers of Govern-

ment, and as provided in the Constitution. The real issue in this matter is whether the American people shall be given the facts whereby they, themselves, can exercise the sovereignty which is theirs; and whether the American people, through the machinery of our Republic, shall have the final say on policies of the United States of America. This, Madam President, is the issue. This, Madam President, is obviously the reason for the secrecy of the attempt to withhold the facts from the American public.

The memorandum caused to be printed in the Record on August 2 in two places, first by myself, and later in the day by the Senator from Arkansas, is important, not primarily because of its origin—although that, too, is important—but above all for its content which reveals the real fears which underlie the exposure to the American public, in the Armed Forces and out, of the total nature of communism and the history of its many tactics of aggression.

This memorandum does attack our military leaders and their participation in efforts to give American citizens the facts about communism and the cold war. The attack of the memorandum on the military, however, is merely the application, in this instance, of the philosophy candidly expressed in the memorandum, that the American people are not to be trusted with governing themselves, particularly with reference to matters of foreign policy.

This memorandum does express fear of the military, and even apologetically cites the revolt of the French generals; but the ultimate fear expressed by the memorandum is not of the military, but of the American people themselves.

Three paragraphs from this memorandum constitute its heart; and every American should read all of this memorandum, but particularly these three paragraphs:

The American people have never really been tested in such a struggle. In the long run, it is quite possible that the principal problem of leadership will be, if it is not already, to restrain the desire of the people to hit the Communists with everything we've got, particularly if there are more Cubas and Laos. Pride in victory, and frustration in restraint, during the Korean war, led to MacArthur's revolt and McCarthyism.

This problem of democratic attitudes toward foreign policy has never been better stated than by De Tocqueville, who wrote:

"Foreign politics demand scarcely any of those qualities which a democracy possesses; and they require, on the contrary, the perfect use of almost all those faculties in which it is deficient . . . a democracy is unable to regulate the details of an important undertaking, to persevere in a design, and to work out its execution in the presence of serious obstacles. It cannot combine its measures with secrecy, and it will not await their consequences with patience. These are qualities which more especially belong to an individual [a dictator], or to an aristocracy [or an oligarchy or praesidium]."

He also wrote of "the propensity which democracies have to obey the impulse of passion rather than the suggestions of prudence, and to abandon a mature design for the gratification of a momentary caprice."

This, Madam President, is not an indictment of military leaders for usurp-